

Message Text

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SUBJECT: BREZHNEV LONG AND STRONG ON DETENTE, US.. - SOVIET
RELATIONS

REF: A. MOSCOW 9209 (NOTAL)

1. SUMMARY. DETENTE AND SOVIET-U.S. RELATIONS

ARE THE MAJOR THEMES OF BREZHNEV'S SUPREME SOVIET JUNE 14
ELECTION SPEECH, AND HE GIVES A STRONGLY CONFIDENT APPRAISAL
OF THEIR PROGRESS SO FAR, THEIR FUTURE PROSPECTS, AND THE RIGHT-
NESS OF THE SOVIET COMMITMENT TO THEM. INDEED, BREZHNEV IS
MORE UPBEAT ON EAST-WEST RELATIONS THAN ANY OF THE OTHER
SOVIET LEADERS WHO PRECEDED HIM ON THE CAMPAIGN TRAIL (WITH
POSSIBLE EXCEPTION OF KIRILENKO). NEW ELEMENTS IN SPEECH OCCUR
MAINLY IN ARMS CONTROL AREA--A STATEMENT THAT SOVIETS ARE
PREPARED FOR AGREEMENT WITH THE U.S. ON UNDERGROUND TESTING,
A SIGNAL THAT MOSCOW MAY NOW BE READY TO MOVE TOWARD A PARTIAL
MBFR AGREEMENT, AND AN EXPRESSED INTEREST IN MUTUAL U.S.-
SOVIET AGREEMENT TO USE MAXIMUM RESTRAINT IN ARMS BUILD-UPS.
IN MIDDLE EAST SECTION BREZHNEV DROPS HINT THAT SOVIETS MIGHT
BE CONSIDERING REESTABLISHMENT OF DIPLOMATIC TIES WITH ISREAL.
TO BALANCE THE DETENTE FLAVOR OF THE SPEECH, HE INCLUDES A
COMMITMENT TO STRENGTHEN USSR'S "DEFENSE MIGHT," BUT PUTS IT
IN CONTEXT OF DISARMAMENT RATHER THAN "VIGILANCE," TAKING
ISSUE WITH THOSE WHO WARN OF RISK IN DISARMAMENT. END SUMMARY.

2. DETENTE. FROM THE VERY BEGINNING OF THE FOREIGN POLICY
SECTION OF THE SPEECH BREZHNEV LEAVES NO DOUBT ABOUT HIS EMPHASIS
ON DETENTE. INTRODUCING HIS OWN VERSION OF A "GENERATION
OF PEACE," HE NOTES EXISTENCE OF FIRST GENERATION OF SOVIET
PEOPLE WHO HAVE NOT KNOWN WAR AND VOICES INTENTION TO ASSURE
THAT THEIR CHILDREN AND GRANDCHILDREN CAN ALSO LIVE WITHOUT WAR.
HE DESCRIBES TENDENCY TO DETENTE AS "DOMINANT FEATURE" OF INTER-
NATIONAL SITUATION. HE SAYS DETENTMENT MUST BECOME IRREVERSIBLE
AND THAT "WE WILL STRUGGLE (BOROTSYA) FOR THAT" -- A STRONGER
COMMITMENT THAN ANY MADE IN THE ELECTION SPEECHES OF THE OTHER
SOVIET LEADERS.

3. AS HE IS MORE POSITIVE THAN HIS PREDECESSORS ON
DETENTE, HE IS ALSO LESS NEGATIVE ON ITS OPPONENTS. WHILE
PODGORNY AND GROMYKO (AND TO A SOMEWHAT LESSER EXTENT KOSYGIN)
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EMPHASIZED THE ACTIVITIES OF DETENTE'S
ENEMIES, BREZHNEV (APART FROM ONE OR TWO SCATTERED REFERENCES)
CONFINES HIMSELF TO A SHORT PASSAAGE SAYING THAT
"AGRESSIVE FORCES" AND "COLD WAR ADVOCATES" ARE ACTIVE,
BUT THAT THE FUTURE IS NOT FOR THEM.

4. DEFENSE. BREZHNEV UNDER LINES THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE'S

COMMITMENT TO GIVE "UNFLAGGING ATTENTION TO STRENGTHENING THE DEFENSE MIGHT" OF THE COUNTRY, AN EVEN STRONGER FORMULATION THAN USED BY SOME SPEAKERS WHO SPOKE OF "DEFENSE CAPABILITY" (KOSYGIN, AS REPORTED SEPTEL, IGNORED THE ISSUE). BUT THE THRUST OF THE PASSAGE IS WEAKENED BY THE CONTEST: SOME PROGRESS IN DISARMEMENT HAS BEEN MADE, BUT ARMS RACE HAS NOT BEEN STOPPED; "IN THESE CONDITIONS" THE CC GIVES ATTENTION TO STRENGTHENING DEFENSE MIGHT; "I CAN ASSURE YOU, COMRADES, THAT OUR DEFENSE IS RELIABLE" AND WILL BE MAINTAINED AT THE NECESSARY LEVEL; AT THE SAME TIME "WE ARE FIGHTING" FOR REAL ADVANCES IN DISARMAMENT. AND FROM HERE, BREZHNEV MOVES INTO ARGUMENT AGAINST THOSE WHO WARN OF RISK IN DISARMAMENT, ASSERTING THAT THERE IS GREATER RISK IN PILING UP WEAPONS. UNLIKE PODGORNYY AND PONOMAREV, BREZHNEV DOES NOT BRACKET HIS WORDS ON DEFENSE WITH A CALL FOR "VIGILANCE."

5. UNITED STATES. BREZHNEV'S TREATMENT OF U.S. IS GIVEN IN DETAIL IN REFTEL. IT IS WORTH NOTING THAT HE TALKED MUCH LONGER ON THE U.S. THAN ANY PREVIOUS SPEAKER--TWICE AS LONG, FOR EXAMPLE, AS GROMYKO, AND EIGHT TIMES AS LONG AS EITHER KOSYGIN OR PODGORNYY, HE DESCRIBES "SERIOUS TURN" IN U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS AS "ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT FOREIGN POLICY DEVELOPMENTS OF RECENT YEARS." HIS POSITIVE REMARKS ON THE SUMMIT AND ON THE NECESSITY OF CONTINUING TO IMPROVE RELATIONS ARE ONLY SLIGHTLY TEMPERED BY HIS REFERENCE TO REMAINING DIFFICULTIES AND BY HIS CAUTIONING THE U.S. TO STICK TO THE PRINCIPLES OF EQUAL SECURITY AND RENUNCIATION OF ATTEMPTS TO GAIN UNILATERAL ADVANTAGES. BREZHNEV ALSO SOFT-PEDALS MFN. HE BRINGS IT UP ONLY INDIRECTLY IN NON-U.S. PART OF THE SPEECH, SAYING THAT "CIRCLES IN WEST") WHO HOPE TO GET POLITICAL AND IDEOLOGICAL CONCESSIONS IN EXCHANGE FOR ECONOMIC TIES ARE WHISTLING IN THE DARK. HIS ONLY SOLIDLY NEGATIVE REFERENCE TO U.S. IS PHRASE ON "AGGRESSIVE WAR OF AMERICAN IMPERIALISM" IN DESCRIPTION OF RECENT VIETNAM WAR. FINALLY BREZHNEV
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REGISTERS THE IMPORTANCE OF PUTTING U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS ON A STABLE BASIS, THUS PICKING UP A THEME THAT KIRILENKO AND GROMYKO ALSO EMPHASIZED.

6. ARMS CONTROL WITH U.S.. BREZHNEV'S EXPRESSED INTEREST IN AN UNDERGROUND TEST AGREEMENT IS FAR MORE POINTED THAN SOVIET-AUSTRIAN COMMUNIQUE LANGUAGE OF TWO WEEKS AGO CALLING FOR FULL PROHIBITION OF ALL NUCLEAR TESTS BY ALL GOVERNMENTS. IN BILATERAL CONTEST, SOVIET PRESS HAD PICKED UP SENATOR KENNEDY'S PREDICTION THAT UNDERGROUND TESTING WOULD BE A SUMMIT TOPIC, BUT BREZHNEV'S STATEMENT IS FIRST BY A SOVIET OFFICIAL ON THE SUBJECT. BREZHNEV ALSO MAKES AN INTRIGUING, THOUGH VAGUE, SUGGESTION THAT U.S. AND SOVIET UNION "BY MUTUAL AGREEMENT" SHOW MAXIMUM RESTRAINT IN FURTHER ARMS BUILDUPS AND

REACH AGREEMENT MAKING IT POSSIBLE TO PREVENT CREATION OF NEW STRATEGIC WEAPONS SYSTEMS.

7. MBFR. BREZHNEV SEEMS TO INTEND A CLEAR SIGNAL IN STATING SOVIET READINESS FOR "PARTIAL MEASURES" ON LIMITATION AND REDUCTION OF ARMS, WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO MBFR, IN WHICH HE SEES POSSIBILITY FOR FIRST CONCRETE RESULTS "IN SHORTEST TIME." UNLIKE PONOMAREV, BREZHNEV DOES NOT LINK MBFR WITH PROGRESS AT CSCE, HIS OMISSION OF ANY CRITICISM OF WESTERN PROPOSALS AT LEAST LEAVES DOOR OPEN FOR A COMPROMISE BASED ON INITIAL U.S.-SOVIET REDUCTIONS.

8. CSCE, THERE IS LITTLE HEAT IN BREZHNEV'S CRITICISM OF ALLEGED TACTICS OF DELAY AND PROCRASTINATION, AND IN FACT HE DOES NOT CALL EXPLICITLY FOR AN EARLY CSCE CONCLUSION. NOR DOES HE IN THE CSCE CONTEXT SPEAK OF INTERFERENCE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS --NORMALLY A STAPLE REFERENCE FOR HIM. HE CALLS FOR FINAL STAGE AT THE "HIGHEST" LEVEL, THUS MAKING A CLEAR THAT HE HIMSELF PLANS TO ATTEND (KOSYGIN HAD, PERHAPS INADVERTENTLY, FUZZED THE MATTER).

9. MIDDLE EAST. BREZHNEV MAKES THE STANDARD HOW TO DISENGAGEMENT "FIRST STEPS". TO THE GENEVA CONFERENCE, AND TO THE SOVIET INTENTION TO MAKE A CONTRIBUTION THERE. LESS STANDARD IS HIS STATEMENT THAT "PROGRESS IN THE FIELD OF SETTLEMENT WILL CREATE CONDITIONS FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF OUR RELATIONS WITH ALL THE COUNTRIES OF THE MIDDLE EAST." THIS LOOKS LIKE AN OLIVE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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BRANCH TO ISRAEL, WHICH BREZHNEV DOES NOT CRITICIZE BY NAME (GROMYKO AND OTHERS WERE NOT SO CAREFUL).

10. COMMUNIST MOVEMENT. THE SPEECH IS REMARKABLY LIGHT ON REFERENCES TO COMMUNIST COOPERATION-- A CLEAR INDICATION OF BREZHNEV'S DESIRE TO TAKE A WESTWARD-ORIENTED APPROACH. HIS OMISSION OF ANY ALLUSION TO A FUTURE WORLD COMMUNIST CONFERENCE LEAVES PONOMAREV AS THE ONLY SOVIET LEADER WHO HAS SO FAR MENTIONED IT. THE CHINA REFERENCES SEEM SIMILARLY PERFUNCTORY--A REBUTTAL TO CHINESE SLANDERS BALANCED BY A CONTINUED ADVOCACY OF NORMAL RELATIONS.

11. THIRD WORLD. NOTHING MUCH UNUSUAL HERE. PAKISTAN IS POINTEDLY OMITTED FROM A SENTENCE HAILING RELATIONS WITH INDIA, AFGHANISTAN, AND BANGLADESH--PERHAPS A HINT THAT THE TIMING FOR THE BHUTTO VISIT MAY BE SLIPPING.
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